562 delivery, "her blood was purified to a white color to become
827 the milk of the breast."[8] Nursing a child was the essence
853 of a woman's function, the supremely feminine act. A priest said, "A mother mercifully receives the khwan into her womb, and for maintaining life gives more of her own body, strength, and care (i.e. than does the father). Mothers are born to love children. Theirs is a steady intent to provide children with successful existences. To a mother one is most grateful" (S.S.).

562 In a wider context, not only all their household members
462 but people anywhere were the objects of women's nurture:
252 women were in charge of the cooking even if occasionally
224 helped by men. At the meals they prepared they were often the last to eat, so often "holding back and eating whatever was left over," that in a poor household, short rationing daily was probable (Hauck, et al.:35,[9]). One old lady expressed deep satisfaction that she "did not feel hungry
182 any more." She construed this as proof that she had ample
431 merit, but it also meant that she was a great donor who gave
776 continuously and took little. Women usually offered the early morning food to priests in behalf of the family, and they took charge of cooking the immense amount of food served at large ceremonies and temple festivities. When
593 age pushed women past their mature capacities, they returned
373 to the status of recipients. A son said of his senile
888 mother, "She has gone back to being a child" (klap pai pen dek). The son's wife cooked delicacies for her.

562 A desire to give tender care and nourishment was deemed
857 inborn in all women. Although sex was not strongly
291 differentiated in babyhood,[9] by age 3 a hard-to-handle
593 skirt was put on a tiny girl, who reacted with vast pride. By 5, girls were helping with cooking and baby tending. Often has an older sister of 9 or 12 been observed patiently feeding her charge the ice cream she longed to eat herself.

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822 [8]. This very phrase was congruent with the colors associated with the khwan. Red or white flags, or pieces of cloth, or puddings (khanom) were required wherever khwan were involved, such as in rice, san phra phûm, and thaw khwan ceremonies. Red was an auspicious color, white symbolized innocence and purity.

856 [9]. Anuman Rajadhon reports, though, that at the moment of birth, the child's sex was immediately "adjusted" (Anuman Rajadhon:129).

SUMMARY

A general description is given of conditions in a Siamese rice village, 1952-54, as they relate to food supply and food habits. Activities at various seasons of the year are described. The heavy work seasons occurred during transplanting and harvest. In the dry season, many ceremonials and festivals were held in which food played an important role. Such occasions provided opportunity to "make merit" and add to one's prestige as did the regular offering of food to the priests, throughout the year. The relatively large financial obligations undertaken by those sponsoring ceremonies was a major factor in the economy of the village.

Food was mostly home produced and an important factor in the standard of living was the number of productive hands available. Rice was the first essential for any meal. Home milled rice was used, even in part, only by a minority of households. Fish, fresh or preserved, was the food next in importance to rice. Use of flesh foods other than fish was probably inhibited by Buddhist tenets which prohibit the taking of life, but some poultry, oxen, and other flesh foods were used. Nearly all of the families in Bang Chan raised chickens, and some raised ducks, but about 3/5 of all eggs produced were sold. Every family had some sort of kitchen garden, including banana trees and other plants, but spices and chili were much more commonly grown than vegetables and fruit. Swamp cabbage, the green leafy vegetable used most often, grew wild in the canals. A calendar of fresh foods commonly used in Bang Chan is presented.

Cash expenditures for food were small. When canals were navigable, boat venders brought produce and during the busy work seasons farmers often bought fish as well as the usual foods: onions, garlic, limes, coconut, palm sugar and small amounts of vegetables.

Many households increased their income by the sale of eggs, vegetables gathered from the canal and other items. Culture of tilapia and mushrooms, begun during the period of study, was undertaken by a considerable number of farmers between 1953 and 1955. Both enterprises were apparently regarded primarily as a supplementary source of cash rather than as a means of improving the home food supply, and both efforts had been largely if not entirely abandoned by 1957.

Preparation of some typical dishes, meal service and techniques of eating are described. For adults, two meals a day were usual, except during the busy work seasons when a third meal might be eaten. Menus were similar for all. Two observations from records of school children were 1) that over 90% of them ate snacks, many of which were bought from venders on the school grounds. Sweets and fruit were the

443 needles. Their prices were higher than in Minburi or Bangkok, but their service was such a convenience that many people rarely went to town. Some adults in Bang Chan had never been to Bangkok though almost all had visited Minburi, about 3 [431] miles from the temple. Venders often extended credit, and also accepted items such as fresh fish, fruit, and eggs on a barter basis, thus providing an outlet for small amounts of home products. When the subsidiary canals were dry, however, venders could not get to some parts of the village.

Home Sites and Houses

General Arrangement

361 Since the canals provided the chief means of local
487 transportation for much of the year, and also supplied water for many household uses, houses were built near the canal, usually within sight of a neighbor's. Home sites were mounded up to a level of two or three feet above that of the fields, but even so, water might cover the mound at the peak of the rainy season. Old wooden houses were set in a grove of bamboo, bananas and other fruit trees and vines, occa-
349 sionally betel and coconut palms. Nearby might be a shed for the water buffalo which were the draught animals used in farming. Rarely one saw a walled privy.[1] On the same mound might be a cottage built by parents for married children or by an affluent farmer for a hired hand. In this case, the threshing floor, firewood from trees on the mound, and area
342 for kitchen garden would be shared. Many houses were built on stilts to avoid flooding when the water level was high. If the house was elevated sufficiently, the area underneath provided a relatively cool shelter during the hot season for the buffalo, and even for family members for some of their daytime activities.

Depending on the resources of the family, houses were built of either thatch or wood, roofed with thatch, galvan-
352 ized iron or occasionally, tile. Split bamboo or matting might be used for dividing walls if the house had more than one room. Wooden flooring was usual, but in simpler thatched houses with dirt floors, the buffalo might be sheltered under the same roof with the family. In such a house, one or more low wooden platforms were built for sitting and sleeping. Wide cracks between floor boards conveniently permitted betel
364 chewers to spit without the need for a spittoon. Those who
• 267 were preparing food or clearing up after a meal could also thus discard refuse or dispose of leftover food that was to
369 be given to chickens, without leaving the kitchen. Some

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1. cf. Hauck, 1956, p. 45-6 for description of latrine facilities.

Seasonal Activities

128 A chart has been prepared to show the climatic conditions in Bang Chan and what people were doing at different seasons (Chart 1). For convenience, the periods covered by the four rounds of the dietary survey (p. 58) are included.

221 The year starts with May, the beginning of the rice-
132 year. At this time the rains began to soften the parched ground, and the heat slackened. School re-opened. Farmers
241 turned to plowing, harrowing, raising the seedlings. Both
512 sexes worked about equally in field labor, boys from 14 and
[illegible] girls from about 15 years of age performing tasks according
[illegible] to skill and strength. Everyone was in the field at dawn.
[illegible] The buffalo, but not the farmer, rested through the noonday heat (about 10 a.m. until 2 p.m.) and also on the weekly holy
• 244 day. Meals were usually eaten about 10 a.m. and after returning from the field at dark. Although two meals a day were usual at other times, at this season, some had a third
[illegible] meal about 2 p.m. If the buffalo were brought home to rest, this meal could be eaten at home, but hired laborers or those working far from home often took with them rice and other foods in a (2)pin-(1)too, or tiered lunch kit.

221 With the rains, the canals had filled, so that by June
132 buyers with big rice boats could return. The few farmers who
501 could afford to hold onto a portion of their last year's crop
441 sold it for a better price at this time. Vegetables and
241 fruits which had died in the long drought were replaced, and trees were planted.

24 In July the heavy transplanting season began. Because
221 of cooperative work habits or hiring out, people worked
132 solidly day after day for two months on their own or on another's fields. It was dawn-to-dark, back-breaking work.

This was an anxious time. The seedlings had to go in at exactly the right time. Water level was only partly con-
[illegible] trollable. Lack of rain might be remedied by pumping water
[illegible] from the canals but flooding would drown the plants. School
[illegible] vacation was scheduled at this time so both teachers and
[illegible] children could help. Older children might work in the fields,
[illegible] while younger ones, from 8 to 13, and the aged took over the care of babies and toddlers, fished, cooked, gathered food
[illegible] for the family and grass for the buffalo. People knew the crop was subject to dro[illegible] and flood, pests of rats and worms, destruction by b[illegible] or wandering buffalo or duck, and in the end to the mysterious fluctuations of the price of rice on the world market. Moreover, some persons worried about debts, acquired from giving a ceremony or making a capital investment and sometimes from heavy gambling during the rest season.

221 Despite the availability of fish and of vegetables in
435 the canal, the highest cash outlays for family food occurred in this transplanting season. Several factors probably contributed to this: increased food energy needs because of long hours of work, venders again accessible because of high water, cash from sale of last year's crop still in hand, the convenience of cooked foods and snacks, and perhaps the need to replenish household supplies after the long drought, or after their depletion by a ceremony.

221 The two months of September and October during which
[512] the rice grew afforded some respite. People slept a little longer and breakfast was not prepared so early. The skilled cook might take over and could give more attention to food preparation. All who could, took the opportunity to visit
[ ] and take trips. A few might go on a pilgrimage. Therefore,
26 in this season, all family members were less often together
22 at the evening meal. Fishing was a continuous occupation,
[ ] with some preserving and home craft. Jobs such as selling
[ ] food in the market were undertaken for ready cash; houses and
[ ] equipment were built or repaired. Finally the threshing floor was prepared.

[ ] High water caused time-consuming inconvenience only in
[31] earth-floored cottages where it was necessary to keep the rice stores and chickens dry, move the cook-stove, and either build plank walks or cook standing ankle deep in water.

283 By November, the earliest varieties of rice matured.
221 Those who owned several rice fields could put at least one into an early type. Many persons, by then short of rice, were glad to be thus tided over. One grandmother divided her first harvest among her several long-since-independent married children; 2 tangs[1] of milled rice per family, 40 for herself.

The heroic labor of harvest occupied December, January, and February. Farmers raced against the all-too-fast lowering of the water in the canals, without which sheaves could
[461] not be moved and buyers could not come for the paddy. People worked all daylight hours in the fields, threshed far into
[226] the night. At this time also many varieties of fish matured
434 and men fished night after night. Just when the convenience
426 of purchased food was greatest, cash was exhausted. With
443 rice money in sight, venders might be generous with credit, but they could navigate only the larger canals, so were not available to many.

000 There was an important psychological difference between

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[504] 1. One tang equals 20 liters. Milled rice weighs about 16 kg. per tang.

252 462 a woman's" (Sharp et al., 1953, p. 88). For instance, the husband cooked when his wife was away from home, e.g. selling in the market or in farm labor, and of course when she was 252 867 sick or resting after childbirth. The ability of boys as well as girls to cook rice and some of the accompaniments was taken for granted. A girl or boy could cook rice "as soon as he could lift the rice pot," e.g. at 6 or so; by age 12 he could cook a creditable meal. In mid-December, 1952, on the last day of school before vacation, one of us saw committees of school children (aged 7-14 years) preparing food for a special meal, on the school grounds. The variety of dishes prepared and the ease with which the children went about their tasks gave evidence of the home experience these children had had 252 (Hauck, 1953). Responsibility for food preparation increased 383 with age up to about 15 years, after which all available able-bodied family members did field work during the busy seasons (cf. p. 11). Several hours per day were spent in cooking and by middle age, parents were eager to turn this job over to a 397 daughter or daughter-in-law. If they had no daughter, this was an explicit reason for adopting a baby girl.

252 Certain men of eminence, e.g. headmen and elders, would 552 not be asked to cook at all, but as they aged, they might re- 881 turn to the task. One old headman, all of whose children had married and left home, said that he was doing the cooking for 252 2 months because his wife had back trouble. Some dishes were 562 cooked by men only, even when their wives stood by: turtle, frog and cobra curries, for instance. These were also food for men only, suitable to serve at a drinking party.

252 A premium was put on good cooking, and certain women 261 who were noted for their cooking were in great demand for large 868 scale food preparation during the ceremonial season. One farmer planned to send his daughter to learn from such a skilled cook, having in mind the food preparation which would be needed when his sons were old enough to be ordained. Adverse comments might be made if the food did not come up to expectation; thus, a small boy complained that his curry was "too salty," and an old woman said loudly that the curry made by her 16-year old grand-daughter was "not good," although this girl was the only one at home to cook.

Meal Patterns[1] and Preparation of Typical Thai Dishes

252 Food was commonly prepared twice a day, in the morning 264 and late afternoon. The meal pattern was the same for breakfast

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114 262 1. Suvarnakich (1950) described the Thai diet in a general way and Sharp et al., (1953, pp. 263-274) summarized the small amount of information on diet in Bang Chan obtained during the preliminary study in 1948-49.

and dinner, either meal taking an hour or two to prepare. Snacks might be eaten at any time. Adults often ate just the two principal meals, but children, especially the small ones who were not in school, might eat whenever hungry. The school children often purchased snacks from venders on the school grounds. If food was to be offered to the priests, who went around the village about seven o'clock in the morning, breakfast preparation was begun early, between 4:30 and 5:30 a.m., although family members might eat at various times during the morning: the husband before he went to the field, older children, before school time, babies and small children when the mother had time to feed them, and so on (Appendix A, p. 95). Preparation of supper usually took place sometime between 2:30 and 6 p.m. Whenever possible, family members ate together at the evening meal, but many exceptions were noted.

Rice is the principal item in every Thai meal. In Thai the general term meaning "to eat" is translated literally "to eat rice." All food items are divided into two classes: rice and "with rice," or (2)kab (3)khaw. Among the families studied three or four "with-rice" dishes were usually prepared during the day, i.e. for the two main meals, but the number varied in different families, and according to season. One or two of these dishes would usually be "hot" i.e. highly seasoned with fresh or dried chili peppers. Fish was the food item second in importance to rice, but the typical "with rice" preparation, whether hot or mild, contained more than one food item in addition to a variety of spices and flavoring materials (Appendix C, p. 118).

Between meal snacks might be any available leftover food,[1] fruit, or items purchased from a vender.[2] Such snacks were not regarded as meals, however, as no Thai considers that he has eaten a meal unless he has eaten liberally of rice.

The general method of cooking rice was the same throughout the village. The rice was washed two times in water from the canal or fish pond, and was then boiled in a large volume of unsalted water for about 20 minutes. The rice pot was

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1. Leftover foods from breakfast were eaten later that day with or without reheating. "With-rice" was seldom left over from the evening meal, but rice was frequently kept over night.

2. Deep fat frying of bananas, sweet potato slices and the like was commonly observed, both among venders who sold their wares on the school ground, and those who travelled by boat. This method of cooking was never observed in ordinary home food preparation probably because fat was in relatively short supply.

252 cooking water was discarded. In Bang Chan, foods were not usually cooked a long time.

In most village homes, one fire only was built for ordinary meal preparation. Rice was cooked first, then "with-rice" dishes, no attempt being made to serve the rice and accompanying foods hot. Indeed, with the frequent use of chilies, one might have the sensation of eating hot foods, no matter when they were taken from the fire. Notes on the preparation of a meal in one household that participated in the dietary study, are included in Appendix C, p. 119.

Meal Service and Techniques of Eating

• 264 Food was generally served in the kitchen area. When possible, family members ate together at the evening meal, sitting on the floor, each one old enough to feed himself having a bowl of rice before him. The "with-rice" dishes were placed in the center of the group. Family members helped themselves to portions of the "with-rice," using the right hand to take solid foods, and a serving spoon for fluid foods. Enough rice for a bite was pressed together with the fingers of the right hand, so that grains would not be scattered as the rice was conveyed to the mouth. "With-rice" of semi-fluid consistency was eaten by dipping the ball of rice into it, or more exactly, touching one side of the ball of rice to it. The amount of "with-rice" was generally small, and to take more than one spoonful onto the plate at a time would appear greedy.

264 When families did not sit down to eat together, those 599 who ate first were expected to take no more than their share. The wife saw to it that her husband had a liberal serving of the best food available. She also gave generously to the children, holding back, eating last or what was left, herself. In a well-to-do household, where food was ample, the mother would be as well fed as others; in a poor household she might be short-rationed day after day.

When priorities in serving were observed,[1] young children, "not old enough to know better" were not expected to wait until the elders had been served. A frequent pattern at both breakfast and dinner was for older children to feed the younger ones before their own meal; elders in the family then ate, and husband and wife ate together if possible, or as convenient to their separate schedules. In the morning if food was to be offered to priests, family members did not ordinarily eat until after the priests had been served. If necessary, however, the priests' food could be served onto a tray, then others might eat. The observer often had

1. See footnote 1, p. 49.

The observer often had opportunity to make notes on foods eaten by various family members. Two examples of these are included in Appendix A, p. 97.

Snacks

We have noted that various family members ate the morning meal, in particular, at different times, and that children especially might eat leftover food between meals. Most Bang Chan school children[1] ate snacks, which were usually different from foods eaten at a regular meal. Doubtless most of them were purchased from one of the venders who were to be seen on the school grounds daily. Fruits and "desserts" were most commonly eaten, although a variety of other foods, not a part of the usual Thai meal, were also listed. Sweets were listed about 450 times on the 539 records obtained. Many of them had a base of rice, rice flour or glutinous rice with sugar, and included coconut, banana or other fruit. Some were made with legumes, and a few contained egg. Fried bananas, fried sweet potato slices, bananas or beans cooked in syrup, and bananas cooked in sweetened coconut milk were also listed. A few items such as ices, flavored syrup poured over shaved ice, and candies, had little nutrient value other than caloric content.

A glass of milk, and milk with coffee, were each listed once. These might have been obtained at the store adjoining the school grounds. These instances are worth noting primarily because, although dried and tinned milks were obtainable, milk was seldom given to village children after weaning.

Many children were given a bit of cash each day, and Janlekha (1955) commented that some children who did not have any might barter an egg for snacks. One could tell fairly well from the children's records what the venders offered for sale on a given day. Some influence of season was apparent; thus ices and syrup over shaved ice were eaten more often during the hot dry season, and cooked foods such as fried Chinese noodles appeared primarily in the cool season.

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1. With the cooperation of teachers of the third and fourth grades in the Bang Chan elementary school, records of food eaten during 24-hour periods were obtained from children in these grades at intervals of about one month during the school year. This was a regular activity in the health class. A total of 539 records (from 1 to 8 for each child) were obtained from 75 boys and 72 girls. To facilitate recording, each child was given a sheet of paper, with spaces for his name, the date, and kinds of food other than rice, eaten at the morning, noon and evening meals, and as snacks. These records were collected primarily for information on meal patterns of village families for comparison with the limited sample in the dietary survey, and on seasonal use of various foods.

262 Some snacks, i.e. seasonal fruits, may have been picked from the home garden, and items such as lotus seeds were probably gathered wherever the children found them.

Comments on Foods Eaten by School Children

126 In addition to the high percentage of school children
264 who ate snacks, a conspicuous observation was that many ate
855 no regular lunch (Table 3). We did not ask the children to record when they ate snacks, but only what they ate. The number of snacks recorded by individual children did not, however, appear to be related to whether or not they had eaten lunch. For example, among the 76 children who provided 24-hour food records during May, 1953, the average number of snacks recorded by the 39 children who ate a regular lunch and the 37 who did not, was about the same, i.e. a little over three per child.

Table 3. Number and Percentage of Children Who Ate Snacks, and Who Missed Lunch, Arranged by Months in Which Records Were Obtained

Month[1]	No. of Records	Children who ate snacks		Children who missed lunch	
		No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage
May 1953	76	73	96	37	49
June 1954	61	56	92	32	53
July 1953	79	77	98	53	67
Sept. 1953	52	49	94	36	69
Oct. 1953	55	50	91	22	40
Nov. 1953	88	81	92	57	65
Dec. 1952	18	14	78	10	56
Jan. 1954	69	64	93	41	59
Feb. 1953	41	39	95	33	81
Total	539	503	93%	321	60%

1. Note that although the figures are arranged by month, the records were obtained over a period extending from December 1952 through June 1954.

264 855 [262] Most of the children who ate lunch regularly brought rice and some of the "with-rice" dishes prepared for a family meal in a lunch pail. Menus for breakfast and noon meals were often identical. Children who lived at a distance may have found it harder to carry lunch, especially when they had to walk to school, but the month by month record of the percentage of children who missed lunch (Table 3) does not indicate any clear seasonal trend. Even children who lived nearby might neither bring lunch nor return home during the noon recess. We were at the home of a school teacher, a short distance on foot from the school, when his two children returned in the afternoon. The mother said that they usually waited until after school to eat, but were having no snack on that day because for the first time, they had carried lunch to school.

126 262 Thorangkul (1957) scanned all of the dietary records to note the frequency with which the following food groups occurred: protein-rich food, carbohydrate-rich food other than plain boiled rice, vegetables and fruits. She considered the records of each child as a unit; thus if a boy for whom 5 daily records were available, had recorded protein-rich food such as fish, eggs, or beans 16 times, he was regarded as having more than 3 "servings"[1] of such food per day. The frequency with which various food items occurred in the daily diets of these children is shown in Table 4.

Considering the day's record as a whole, some protein-rich food, usually fish, was included in the records of 97% of the children. Such protein-rich food appeared two or more times per day in the records of over 80% of the boys and about 90% of the girls. In contrast, no fruit was mentioned in the records of about 10% of the children, although fruit was one of the commonest snacks. Vegetables were not mentioned in the records of 10% of the boys and 3% of the girls. Only about one-fourth of the vegetables recorded were green or yellow.

For 75 children for whom we had 4 or more records, Thorangkul (1957), to obtain a rough estimate of the adequacy of the children's diets, grouped the records into three categories, based on the number of times protein-rich foods, vegetables and fruits appeared. On the average, children whose diets were placed in Class I had at least 3 "servings" of protein-rich food, 3 "servings" of vegetables and 2 of fruits. Diets in Class II included some from each of the food groups each day, but the items were recorded less frequently than in diets in Class I. Diets in Class III did not include foods from each of the food groups emphasized, each day. On this

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[104] 1. The term serving is used here to designate each time an item appeared in the daily food record. Thai do not have "servings" as the term is used in Western countries.

Table 4. Frequency of Occurrence of Various Food Groups in the Daily Diet of 147 School Children in Bang Chan

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(Adapted from Thorangkul, 1957)

Number of servings[1]	Protein-rich food	Carbohydrate-rich food[2]	Vegetables	Fruit
	Percentage, based on records of 75 boys[3]			
3 or more	47	8	28	8
2 to 2.9	36	15	23	18
1 to 1.9	13	40	30	37
0.1 to 0.9	3	37	9	26
None	1	-	10	11
	Percentage, based on records of 72 girls[3]			
3 or more	68	13	21	10
2 to 2.9	21	17	38	27
1 to 1.9	4	22	34	38
0.1 to 0.9	3	48	4	15
None	4	-	3	10

1. The term serving is used here to designate each time an item appeared in the daily food record.

2. Other than plain boiled rice, which is an essential part of every Thai meal.

3. Average frequency of occurrence was computed, considering the records of each child as a unit.

basis, nearly a third of the children who provided diet records had diets which were classed as III (Table 5). Almost all of the girls and about 4/5 of the boys in this group missed lunch. Indeed the common habit of eating just two main meals, with snacks, was probably one important determinant of the number of servings of protein-rich foods and

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Table 5. Diet Classifications for 75 School Children in Bang Chan, and Percentage of Children with Each Diet Classification who Missed Lunch

(Adapted from Thorangkul, 1957)

Diet classification[1]	Percentage of children	Percentage of children who missed lunch	
Class I	8	Boys	46
		Girls	45
Class II	61	Boys	73
		Girls	68
Class III	31	Boys	81
		Girls	98

1. See text for basis of classification.

vegetables eaten, since items from these two food groups were not commonly eaten as snacks. Note, in the illustrative records presented in translation (Appendix A, p. 98), that the child whose diet was considered to be in Class III did not eat a regular lunch on any of the six days for which records were available, whereas the child whose diet was classified as I ate a regular lunch six times out of seven.

Family Food Shared With Others

Throughout the year families prepared especially good meals for persons who came to work cooperatively with them. Every rice-grower entertained his cooperative harvest crew, some the transplanters. Hired laborers were not usually served such feasts, but the conviviality of the harvest season called for a round of liquor even for them. One harvest dinner for 18 cost 50 baht, plus eels (60 baht) and rice. Cooperative home pounding of rice was still practiced in some households and thought to be fun. In one day enough rice to produce 40 tang (640 kg.) was pounded by groups of 15 to 20 workers; in an evening 20 tang were done. If 40 tang were milled, workers were served a full meal; if 20 tang, a dessert only. Other occasions were fish-pond draining, house raising and repair. Each participant in the fish-pond draining at Household 21 was fed (3)khaaw (3)tom (soupy rice) for lunch and "an enormous supper," in addition to receiving the traditional pot of fish. If good food were not served at these functions people

264 would not come willingly to work. When a family with a repu-
476 tation for stinginess diluted the (3)khaaw (3)tom too much,
[574] the group refused to eat any, thereby reminding the host of his obligation for hospitality.

574 Guests to whom meals were served fell into four categories: 1) kin, 2) visiting dignitaries, 3) priests and 4) drinking companions. Kinfolk who came as guests were married children, or those who were away at school or work, or kinsmen from Bangkok or elsewhere. The older the relative or the greater the distance travelled, the greater the honor accorded him. Foods were exchanged. Two visiting ladies travelling in a large boat, made an annual round of all their relatives, bringing certain "city" foods and receiving substantial gifts of rice, fish and fruit. They stayed for several days as guests of one family, then moved on. Every person from Bang
[93] Chan who visited a relative in Bangkok carried big packages of food, usually rice or eggs, as gifts. With the inflated prices in Bangkok, it was advantageous to have a "country cousin" who might bring food. Visiting kinsmen always recognized the need for eventual reciprocity.

Visiting dignitaries were usually entertained by hamlet headmen. Meals served to visiting officials, policemen and others might be elaborate, involving cooperative help in preparation, but reciprocity, if any, rarely took the form of a return meal.

[792] Regular visits of the priests, as well as the invitation of priests to the house for special events, have been mentioned. Priests might also come from afar, usually staying at the temple but receiving generous offerings of food from people of the community.

[562] The custom of convivial get-togethers of either or both sexes was well established. Men traditionally enjoyed "stag" dinners of four up to twenty or more whenever the ingredients for a turtle, frog, cobra or other snake curry were available. Chicken curry might also be thus served, and once a catfish mash was prepared by a male visitor from the north. Those curries were cooked by men, and the host served liquor freely.
184 The all-male character of the occasion reflected the old re-
588 strictions on women's partaking of flesh foods (see p. 42),
213 but older women did not hesitate to join in the drinking.
524 Women also got together in drinking parties, sometimes to play cards.

In addition to sharing food with people in these four categories, the general rules of hospitality required that anyone who came to the house at meal time, should be offered food, or at least a drink of liquor, tea, or plain water.

FOOD IN CONNECTION WITH FESTIVITIES AND CEREMONIES

262 796 A discussion of food habits in Bang Chan would be incomplete without some description of ceremonies ((1)ngaan)[1] which dominate the village scene during the dry, post-harvest season. These events are of interest in connection with food habits because of 1) the prominent place that food occupies in them, 2) the cultural significance and relatively large cost, both of which must be taken into account in any plans for dietary improvement and 3) the possible influence of differences in food habits at the ceremonial season and of problems of sanitation incident to large-scale food preparation on the nutrition and health of village residents.

796 The season for ceremonies and festivities opened with the harvest rites to the Rice Goddess and closed with the beginning of Buddhist Lent in mid-July. The big occasions were cremations, ordinations into the Buddhist priesthood, weddings, and rites for cutting of the topknot[2] or homage-to-the-
527 teacher.[3] Smaller family celebrations might mark such events as the raising and dedicating of a house, the return of a son from the army, or even public events such as the completion
• 264 of a road or a bridge. Whatever the focal activity, a gala meal was served first to priests and then to guests.

[782] Offering food to priests brought merit, which ensured happiness in later rebirths (see p. 9). Because the greater the number of priests served, the greater the merit, people were spurred to put on as large an affair as they could
[554] afford. Moreover, a person was judged throughout the community by the abundance and quality of the food served daily and
527 at festivities. Thus, there was reason to make a (1)ngaan
796 as opulent as possible, but celebrations of every degree occurred in Bang Chan, from lavish feasts to simple ceremonies.

[196 461] 1. Significantly the same Thai word is used for work and for ceremony.

[302 551 835] 2. Topknots, formerly worn by all Thai children, used to be cut ritually at the time of puberty. In Bang Chan, the growing of a topknot had become primarily an attempt to improve a child's health. Few school age children wore topknots. They were usually cut earlier than puberty.

[575] 3. A person who had received specialized knowledge from a teacher gave thanks annually in a ceremony, to which those who had profited by this knowledge were obliged to come and/or contribute. Thus, all the patients of a traditional medical practitioner helped him to honor his teacher.

796 The actual ritual of these ceremonies did not take a great deal of time although it was important. Most of the time and effort went into preparing and serving food. Even a [876] small celebration involved cooperative effort among relatives [782] and friends. For every event, the Buddhist altar in the home was decorated and offerings were made to the house-spirit. A 764 big cremation might require planning in detail for years ahead: 796 invitations to priests and relatives in distant parts of the 574 country; hiring an orchestra and obtaining ceremonial gear. 535 For the largest events, when the guest lists ranged upward to [426] 60 or so priests and 400 other guests, one borrowed the hundreds of trays, dishes and bowls owned by the temple. No rental fee was charged for these, but such items had to be returned the next day, clean, and damaged articles replaced or paid for. As the day or days drew near, boat-loads of fresh provender were bought at big markets, and organized cooperative cooking went on under the direction of a competent person, [252] usually one of the "professional" cooks of the village. The [876] day before one ordination, 33 women were seen preparing vegetables, fish and soup; 13 others were making 7 kinds of desserts; about 50 others of both sexes were at different tasks, the men in particular cooking Chinese noodles, grating coconut, stirring, stoking fires. The picture was one of rows of stoves, pots so large they were stirred with a boat paddle, buckets of sugar, eggs by the hundreds, a hired generator to run a mechanical coconut-grater. On this occasion two meals were served. At another splendid (1)ngaan, the priests were fed three meals, other guests up to eight meals, over a period of two and one-half days. Workers had received additional meals beforehand.

[262] The banquet comprised rice and many dishes not met with in daily fare: Chinese noodles; "with-rice" dishes of several kinds, rich in fish, meat and vegetables: for example, fried chicken with internal organs, garlic and pepper; fried pork with mung bean; (2)mii (a fried vermicelli) with fish, vegetables, and a tomato sauce; many different desserts made of eggs, rice flour, glutinous rice, agar, coconut and coconut milk, sugar, sweet potato, dried green beans; flowers served in syrup, fresh fruit such as watermelon; ices and coffee.

128 In Appendix A, p. 102 is a list of foods bought for an 262 annual homage-to-the-teacher rite. It is the nearest approxi- 796 mation to a quantitative record of food for a ceremony that 815 the research group obtained. The prominence of purchased foods, especially of flesh foods, is noteworthy.

264 On the great day, the priests were served first, either 796 at 7 a.m. or 11 a.m., or both, always at least in part by the 192 host, who sat and chatted with them. No one else ate until

the priests had finished[1]. The trays of food from which each guest served himself were bountiful, but it was not proper to eat very heartily, lest the host suffer the shame of running out of food. If there were a dramatic show or movie at night it was open to the public. In one case 2000 people attended. At that time eight commercial venders turned up to sell coffee, soft drinks, ices and other foods. Venders came to every large ceremony, and were heavily patronized. At the end of a (1)ngaan, the sponsors felt satisfaction and security. Where there was plenty of food to take home, the success was even greater. An earthy compliment was, "the fields were full of feces."

In addition to the banquet were ceremonial offerings of food to spirits and ritual food sometimes consumed as a sacrament. For each ceremony, appropriate selections were made from a specific list: a cooked pig's head, or at least a slice of cooked pork; two kinds of sweetmeats, red ((2)kha-(5)nom (3)tom (1)daaaeng) and white ((2)kha-(5)nom (3)tom (5)khaaw); a cooked fish, usually (1)plaa (3)chauaun, with its head and tail; a green coconut with its coconut water; a bunch of bananas either of the (3)kluaj (4)nam-(4)waa or (3)kluaj (4)nam varieties; a hard-boiled egg, usually duck; and liquor.[2] Other kinds of sweets, fruit, sugar cane, items for betel chewing, chickwn, salt, and rice might appear. As these ceremonies were thought to be auspicious, purifying, therapeutic and protective, they were most elaborate at the great (1)tham-(1)khwan (soul-strengthening) ceremony, at house-raisings and at rites to local guardian spirits. The necessity of these ceremonies explains why when public structures were raised, a portion of the public funds were used for a repast. In Bang Chan when donations for a new school

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1. Other priorities in service might be observed; for example, at a celebration preceding ordination the priest-candidates were served next. At one small affair, when 11 priests came to a home to conduct a service for a disabled old man who could not go to the temple, this elder was served after the priests, then the research group who counted as visiting dignitaries, and finally the other family members, with the women who prepared the food, and the children, eating last. The general sequence prescribed by etiquette was: priests should be served before anyone else, old before the young, the males before females, persons with high status such as teachers and ceremonialists before low, urban before rural. Those who cooked and served came last of all. When the number of participants was large, guests might be served, as they arrived, over a period of hours.

2. The presence of meat, fish and alcohol is this ceremonial food reflected non-Buddhist elements in Thai culture, and should not be viewed as a gross violation of Buddhist precepts.

In Bang Chan when donations for a new school
264 476 946 building warranted buying the foundation materials, so that volunteer labor was solicited for their installation, some of the money went into food, despite additional donations of food. This was in no way misappropriation. Helping to cook was as important as helping to dig the holes.

182 264 The spirit-offering, or the portions eaten by a participant as a sacrament, were actually tiny bits of each food. Afterward, the entire lay-out, pork, sweetmeats and all, was eaten. Because all this was holy food, it was felt to be especially strengthening, so was usually given to children, but might be eaten by family members and occasionally, priests. 262 252 The pork was cut up and eaten with a hot sauce, or put into a "with-rice" dish. It was especially appropriate with liquor.

262 755 852 The use of food ritually was not limited to the ceremonial season nor to big events. The same purposes underlay the use of a hard-boiled egg eaten in the ceremony that was designed to restore a child "sick from temporary loss of its soul," and in another performed in order to wean a baby.

43 554 796 The benefits of a (l)ngaan accrued to every participant down to the last worker and contributor according to the degree of assistance. With status in this and in later lives at stake, no one hesitated to plunge into debt or even to sell land. For the sake of economy two different ceremonies might be performed on the same day, for example a child's topknot cutting at a daughter's wedding.[1] The saving was in time and expense for food preparation, but such multiple ceremonies were performed less often than one might expect.

796 476 435 One assistance in the financing was that every invited guest made a contribution, customarily 5 to 10 baht, which helped defray the costs. In 1952, household heads reported these contributions as totalling from 30 to 1,000 baht, with an average of 343 for the year (Janlekha, 1955). Of 96 household heads who provided information on special expenses during the 5-year period March, 1948 through February, 1953, 36 had given (l)ngaan with net expenditures (costs minus contributions) ranging from -10[2] to 15,000 baht. The average net cost was 4,361 baht (Janlekha, 1955). These figures might represent a single (l)ngaan or several events.

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1. Every desired ritual could be carried out at little cost. Thus a priest-candidate whose father was dead, was included in the pre-ordination festivities planned for a friend; and on one occasion five bodies were cremated at the same ceremony, which was sponsored by the kin of one of the deceased.

2. The -10 meant that contributions exceeded the cost.

443 storekeeper: about 800-900 liter bottles per month during
873 the 3 months dry season as compared to about 350 bottles per
796 month during the 9 months of the rice season.

184 Moslems never served liquor at their weddings, crema-
[273] tions, and other auspicious events. Moslem residents occa-
sionally attended Buddhist (l)ngaan in spite of dietary pro-
[262] scriptions that Buddhists did not observe.[1] A medium (spirit-
ualist) commented however that because pig's head was essen-
tial for her homage-to-the-teacher rites, some Moslem sick
persons preferred to go to the Buddhist temple for treatment.
There the priest-practitioner could afford to set up a separate
kitchen for his Moslem patients, and so spare them the dis-
tress of confronting pork. To one big ordination Moslem
guests brought their own food. Buddhists came somewhat more
often to Moslem ceremonies.

262 We do not have enough information to appraise the nutri-
574 tional significance of food eaten at ceremonies. Some indi-
476 viduals got a great deal of it, others very little. One must
• 264 remember that the (l)ngaan was not a public but a private
event at home, to which guests came on invitation. Although
cremations and the teacher-rites of priest-practitioners were
held at the temple, and so had a semi-public character, no one
who was not invited presented himself for food. Of the par-
ticipants, the working group undoubtedly received the most
food; they were there the longest time, had regular meals,
tastings and snacks throughout the (l)ngaan meal itself. This
group comprised the host, co-sponsors and their immediate kin;
other relatives and friends who were asked or who volunteered
to help. The feeling was, if one were "very fond" of the
host, one volunteered to cook. If less close, one was invited
as a guest, but made the usual cash donation. Sociable per-
sons combining skill and energy were invited often and volun-
[838] teered often, hence spent many days at ceremonies. Young un-
married men and women were asked and liked to be asked to
work, for such occasions offered a great chance for fun and
flirting.

114 Different degrees of participation may be estimated
476 from Janlekha's (1955) figures for reported contributions
796 ranging from 30 to 1000 baht in a year. Since a contribution
of 5 to 10 baht per (l)ngaan was customary, the villager with
the lowest reported contribution probably attended from 3 to
6 ceremonial occasions. Attendance at 100 or more (l)ngaan
is unlikely, hence the villager who gave as much as 1000 baht
probably made larger contributions per (l)ngaan.

574 What sort of persons or groups in the village were in-
796 vited as guests? Every host's list included his older

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[702] 1. Moslems were said to resist army service because they were afraid they would have to eat pork.

196 relatives, his other kin and friends according to bonds of
574 affection and respect. Certain priests of pleasing personalities, wide acquaintance or kinship in the community, or of valued skills, were invited more often than others, as were prominent elders and hamlet headmen. An invitation usually went only to the elder couple in a family. It did not automatically include the children. If married sons or daughters were invited, they were asked separately. Poor individuals were included only in the festivities of their close kinfolk, their immediate neighbors, maybe their own hamlet headman, or persons to whom they were obligated. Unless they were aged, their presence was validated only by hard work. Reciprocity was a factor, for one who could not reciprocate presumably would not be asked, nor would he volunteer. The few who were "anti-social" for whatever personal reason rarely attended.

262 Most members of the working group and guests left at
574 home their children of such age as to require watching.
196 Nursing babies might be there, hung in a hammock. Though
858 the children who ran excitedly about seemed numerous, most of them were the children, grandchildren, nieces and nephews of host, co-sponsors and relatives, so could not be excluded.

To sum up, those who shared least in the diet of the ceremonial season were the dependent children, i.e. up to the age of 6 or so, the less gregarious, and the poor who had no way to reciprocate. Children from 7 to adolescence shared in a limited way, attending (l)ngaan of their own close kin or of a geographically close neighbor. Parents sometimes took snacks from the feast home to the children. On the other hand, persons of prestige and popularity, especially if aged, were asked frequently.

262 Doubtless for those who attended many (l)ngaan, the
796 food eaten during the ceremonial season differed considerably from the usual family fare. We have no way of knowing whether it was better than usual because of a larger intake, for instance, of pork and meat in general, or whether the total nutritive value was less satisfactory because of increased consumption of "empty calories" in the form of sugar and alcohol.

262 During the (l)ngaan season the home meal schedule was
264 frequently disrupted in the families of the participants.
796 The main cook might be absent, too tired, or too full to feel like cooking a big meal at home. In anticipation of a feast, preparation of the usual breakfast or dinner or both might be abandoned, with reliance on a few snacks for the stay-at-homes to add to their rice. Thus the food intake of family members who did not attend the ceremonials might be adversely affected.

000 One other aspect of (l)ngaan which should be mentioned

106 For items used less frequently, the figures are correspond-
262 ingly less than the usual amount eaten. Thus, sweet potato, which is represented as 18 grams per day per person in Group A, actually appeared on 3 records only. One family of 8 persons ate 1200 grams of sweet potato at one meal and a substantial amount later the same day. Most items appear on the lists for both groups, but sweet potato, sweet basil and bananas were included on the list for Group A only, and glutinous rice which is used as a sweet in this area, appears on the list for Group B only. Note that a few common foods account for most of the nutrients in the diets of both groups. These common foods account for only about 80% of the calcium and vitamin A value and slightly less of the ascorbic acid in the diets of Group A. The list for Group B accounts for about 70% of the calcium and 60% of the ascorbic acid in the diets of this group. The variety of green leaves used once or twice only on survey days by Group B, and the number of different seasonal fruits used by both groups in small amounts as snacks, probably account for this.

264 Contribution of Snacks to the Nutrient Content of Diets. -
[355] On the average, 4 out of 5 children had one snack per day,
262 whereas only one adult in 6 did so. The following items appeared most commonly: various kinds of fruit, 40 times (orange 7, banana 6, pineapple, watermelon and mango each 5 times, guava, jujube and Manila tamarind each 2 times, olives, rambutan, rambai, star gooseberry, (2)ta-(1)koo and Thai nutmeg each once,) coconut and bread each 13 times, glutinous rice 8, mung bean 7, truffles 6, products made of rice flour 6 times, and a variety of other items including rice noodles, sweet potato, taro, bean sprouts, lotus stalks, lotus seeds, popcorn, products made of cassava flour, sugar cane, pork and milk from 1 to 4 times each. Salt, and/or palm sugar were
[146] eaten with a number of the snacks. Although they contributed only about 2% of the total calories, and from 1 to 3% of most nutrients, snacks contributed 16% of the total ascorbic acid for Group A and 11% for Group B.

Seasonal Variation in Food Preparation, Meal Patterns, Food Costs and Calorie and Nutrient Value of Foods Eaten

128 In Table 14, a summary including the number of meals
258 prepared, time spent in meal preparation, number of "with-
266 rice" dishes, and cash expenditures for food is given by
435 rounds, for families in each group.

252 Number of Meals Prepared. - Food was cooked twice on
512 each survey day in 3 of 6 households in Group A and 3 of 5 households in Group B. Heavy farm work or vending which kept the mother away from the house sometimes accounted for once-
[443] a-day food preparation. One housewife who took food to market in Bangkok, cooked food twice a day only during the period shortly before the birth of a child, when she was not vending.

[Text continues on page 79--- Analyst]

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264
435

Table 14. Summary Concerning Meal Preparation, by Rounds[1] for Two Groups of Households Studied

Description of Items	Group A				Group B			
	Round I	Round II	Round III	Round IV	Round I	Round II	Round III	Round IV
No. of meals prepared - 2	5	4	4	4	4	4	5	3
- 1	1	2	2	2	1	1	0	2
Range of cooking time, hrs.	0.8-6.0[2]	1.0-2.6	1.3-2.7	1.3-4.0	1.7-3.2	1.4-4.1	2.2-3.3	1.0-3.2
Average cooking time, hrs.	3.7	2.0	1.8	2.4	2.5	3.1	2.8	2.0
Range of no. of dishes prepared	2-8	2-5	1-4	1-4	2-5	2-7	2-6	2-5
Average no. of dishes prepared[3]	5	3	3	3	3	5	3	3
Range of no. of hot dishes	0-3	0-2	0-2	1-3	0-2	1-2	1-2	0-2
Average no. of hot dishes	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	1
Range of no. of mild dishes	2-7	0-3	0-3	0-3	1-3	1-5	1-4	1-3
Average no. of mild dishes	4	2	2	1	2	3	2	2
Range of cash expenditure for meals/day (bahts)[4]	1.53-4.45	0.61-6.30	0.12-4.52	0.66-2.88	0.71-16.24	1.07-11.86	1.12-4.13	0.45-3.47
Average cash expenditure for meals/day (bahts)	3.01	2.96	2.39	1.70	4.85	4.11	2.61	1.36

1. For dates, see Table 7, p. 58.

2. If time waiting for a vender was not counted, the range of cooking time would be 0.8-4.1 and the average would be 3.2 hours.

3. "With-rice" dishes only. Rice is always cooked whenever a Thai meal is prepared.

4. One baht was equal to 5 cents at the time of studies.

2: Hauck et al. D.E-5 (1952-1954) 1958 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

252 Another, who had time during Round IV to prepare food twice a
262 day, preferred to prepare more in the morning when she expected
264 to offer food to her son who had just been ordained. In two
512 instances an evening meal was not prepared because the father
[525] and mother had been invited to a feast in connection with an ordination ceremony, on one occasion a mother did not prepare food because she was gambling. In all of these cases, the evening meal at home consisted of leftover rice and other foods prepared earlier. The housewife in Household 215 sometimes received cooked foods from visitors in return for her services as medium, and these were used, together with leftover foods, for the evening meal. The meal patterns of the two groups of families did not appear to differ greatly.

252 Time for Meal Preparation and Number of Dishes Prepared. - In general, the time for meal preparation varied with the number and type of "with-rice" dishes prepared. The "hot" dishes usually required more preparation time than the mild ones, because of the time required to pound spices, and to cut up ingredients. Once-a-day food preparation reduced the time required for cooking. More time was apt to be spent on food preparation when the housewife was least busy with farm work or other work outside the home. Some of the families visited early in Round I had not begun heavy farm work, and in some, children, who were less skilled, did the cooking.

262 Cost of Food Purchased. - The lowest cash expenditure
435 for food by any household on a survey day was 0.12 baht, for
511 a family in Group A, and the highest 16.24 bahts, for a household in Group B (Table 14, p. 78). On a per capita basis, however, the mean cash expenditure for food by Group A households, for all survey days, was slightly higher than for households in Group B (Table 8, p. 62), and no evidence was obtained that in general households in one group tended to spend more for food than households in the other. Despite the wide variation in cash expenditures for food on the survey days, the tendency for cash expenditures for food to decrease in both groups of households as the survey year pro-
262 gressed was apparent. Most of the rice was sold at the end
432 of Round III. The cash went for capital investments, not
[221] food, during Round IV. With time to drain ponds and to fish intensively, and with ceremonies to attend, people did not need to buy fish and meat which were relatively expensive.

146 Calorie and Nutrient Value of Foods Eaten. - The
221 seasonal variation in calorie and nutrient intake of the two
[28] groups of families is shown in Table 15. As one would expect, the average calorie intake was higher during Rounds I and III, when relatively heavy farm work associated with planting and harvesting was under way, than during Round II, which was primarily the growing season for rice, or Round IV, when the harvest was in, and the earth was dry so that preparation for the next planting had not yet begun. Greater consumption of rice in Rounds I and III was largely responsible for the

[Text continues on page 81 ··· Analyst]

000 Growing other kinds of green and yellow vegetables should be fostered. Although vitamin A value and riboflavin content appear to be critical, in choosing vegetables to be stressed, specialists in agriculture should consider greens [P82] with high calcium and low oxalic acid content also. A variety of edible leaves of trees were used by a few families; some used sweet basil as a vegetable rather than just a seasoning; pumpkin and sweet potato were familiar, but less often used than would be desirable. More green or yellow vegetables which mature when canals are low and aquatic plants no longer available, would be especially good. If increased production by most households[1] is not practicable, a few of the more successful gardeners might be persuaded to produce vegetables and fruits which would help to bridge the gap between rainy seasons. Mushrooms, which can be grown readily, would provide a good source of ribo- [P84] flavin when leafy vegetables are in short supply. The boom-and-bust experience in mushroom culture (See Appendix A, pp. 101-102) might, however, make its revival as a source of healthful food for home use more difficult than if the villagers did not think of mushrooms as a cash crop for which the market failed.

Eating more fruit would help to tide over the dry 268 season. Fruits were commonly used as snacks, not at meal- [P84] time, hence snacks of fruit should be encouraged for adults as well as children. Bananas grew in all gardens and were available the year round. The (4)nam (4)waa variety, which was used in ceremonies, and considered safe for all, should 000 be stressed. More families could grow pineapple, which is [777] relished both raw and in curries. Mango and papaya, fruits of outstanding value for both vitamin A and ascorbic acid, would be excellent, but the idea that growing papayas is "unlucky" must be taken into account. If a few of the more thoughtful and forward-looking farmers could be persuaded to start papaya trees, even though they were not willing to plant them near the house, the practice might spread in time.

146 On the average, the Bang Chan diet did not seem to be [P64] very deficient in protein, but distribution is not proportional to need, and protein deficiency may be in part responsible for periods of weight loss, or failure to gain, so 000 common among infants and children. The presence of other [134] essential nutrients in animal foods is important also. If, the local supply of fish is indeed diminishing, efforts to [P28] increase it through pond culture should be continued. Abandonment of tilapia culture in Bang Chan, after about one-third of the families had tried it, (Appendix A, p. 101) suggests that not enough of the right kind of help was given

1. Tenant farmers may not be permitted to enlarge gardens by mounding at the expense of rice fields.

concerning its culture and use. Tilapia culture was learned largely by trial and error, and was considered primarily as a source of extra cash. If it had been regarded also as a means of improving health through increasing the family's food supply, and if the homemaker had been shown how to use this unfamiliar fish in familiar ways, the outcome might have been different. Increased use of fermented fish and of small dried fish which are eaten whole, should be encouraged. So long as the ability of human beings to adapt to such low calcium intakes without harm has not been proved, any feasible means of increasing the calcium content of the diet seems worth trying.

More home consumption of eggs would be desirable, but their ready sale and acceptability for barter may present an obstacle to increased home use. Increased production would probably lead to some increased home use at least at the peak season. Duck eggs which are less often sold, might be stressed both for this reason, and because of their greater size. The idea held by some that eggs are not good for children nor for pregnant women should be countered when possible. Since hard cooked eggs have many ceremonial uses, they might be presented as "strengthening" food. Hard cooked eggs, which could be prepared the night before, would be convenient as breakfast for workers who would otherwise go to the field without food, for lunch to be carried to the field or to school, and for occasions when parents are to be away from home, as at a ceremonial, and should leave food at home for children.

Milk, as canned, dried or malted milk preparations, was considered an appropriate gift for the priests, who are forbidden to eat solid food after the 11 a.m. meal. Some of this may be shared with the temple boys. The respected old ladies and others who stay overnight at the temple on the Buddhist holy day, and who observe the same rules as the priests for this time, also like to drink milk, often with coffee. Perhaps the wat committee could be taught how dried or canned milk should be reconstituted, and could direct that this be done. They could both spend some of the cash offerings for milk and encourage those who buy gifts of food for the priests to include milk among them. People gladly bought food for the priests and would probably accept on the authority of the head priest or respected elders, the idea of buying certain foods of high nutritive value, even though these cost more. If a small group of leaders, such as the wat committee or the hamlet headmen were instructed in the dangers of contaminated water and the values of good food, with the implication that the best available should be offered the priests both daily, and on ceremonial occasions, improved practices might spread to home consumption, since most food is prepared in the home.

The importance of merit making and the relatively large cash expenditures involved in ceremonials, will probably influence acceptance of any improved practices which involve cash outlay. If some leaders were interested in dietary

APPENDIX A

Description of the Kitchen and Some Notes on Food Preparation in a Relatively Prosperous Household[1]

Friday, May 22, 1953

Arrived at 5:15 a.m. When we reached the house, the mother was holding the dog. The house was dark, and we walked around sleeping babies and children. . . . . The 15 year old niece who prepares meals here, was already at work. For light she had an oil lamp, a tin of about 1 pt. capacity, with wick. The rice was already measured, but she waited until SS could weigh it, before putting it on to cook. SS used her flashlight to see the scale and her notebook.

The kitchen here has a thatched roof, well smoked, but the walls and "windows" are of woven split bamboo. A sliding wooden "window" can be pushed back to allow access to a broad shelf outside. Here a large pan of pond water is kept, so that dishes may be rinsed and hands rinsed after each operation. Dishes are stacked upside down, on a wooden rack nearby, to dry.

The stove area in the corner has place for one fire, but several places for pots to stand. Downstairs, under the shed near the fish pond, is a larger clay stove, where the niece cooks the rice in the morning (enough for noon as well) and some other items; for example the (3)khii-(2)leg leaves which were cooked last night for use in sour curry this a.m. This probably keeps the kitchen cooler than it would otherwise be. Waste, fish bones, vegetable parings, etc., which are to be given to the chickens, can be thrown below through the space between two floor levels (kitchen and main rooms).

Rice water, coconut water, and food left in the serving bowls when the meal is over, are given to the dogs. A bowl is kept below, near where rice is drained, for dog food. Food left in pots is kept for humans to eat.

Fish caught in the pond are kept alive in pond water, in a water jar. When a fish is wanted, the niece catches one from the jar, stuns it with the back of her knife, and scales and cleans it on a split log nearby (rounded side of log up). The fish is put into a small basket, and the niece

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1. In reproducing these notes, slight changes have been made such as substitution of descriptive terms for personal names which appeared in the original.

Notes on Meal Service

In a Relatively Prosperous Household

Friday, May 22, 1953

117 262 Before breakfast is served, the six-year old girl comes with a piece of jack fruit. SS weighs it and tells her to bring back what she does not eat. Later she comes with hands full of stones (14 of them). She has eaten this much as a "snack" before the regular meal. The grandmother finishes the piece (7 stones) and gives the rind to SS to weigh.

[264] At breakfast the family sits in a circle on the kitchen floor. Each person except the baby has his own bowl of rice before him. In the center of the circle, within reach of all, are four small dishes of "with-rice" which has been prepared for breakfast: sour curry of buffalo meat, curry of (3)khii-(2)leg leaves, bean sprouts and one small fried fish. [265] The mother takes a very small bit of fish on a spoon with [266] rice, and feeds baby. During breakfast baby has 6 bites of rice with fish, nine small spoonfuls of rice with sour curry. The mother herself eats one bite of fish. She takes four spoonfuls of sour curry on plate with rice. This is shared with baby. Mother and baby eat mainly rice, fish and sour curry of buffalo meat, whereas grandmother and the six-year old girl have curry of (3)khii-(2)leg leaves and bean sprouts with their rice.

In a Relatively Poor Household

117 853 [591]

Wednesday, May 27, 1953

While the mother finishes the meal preparation, the seven-year old girl feeds the baby, first rice with some chopped egg, then rice with the "water" from the egg. The mother remarks that she cannot cook unless someone looks after the baby.

117 264 Technique of eating -- A tray with the "with-rice" is set out, also a bowl with water, for rinsing the hand, and a basin or bowl with drinking water. There are spoons in the "with-rice," but these seem to be used for taking some of the juice, which may be eaten directly or put on the individual's bowl of rice. Solid pieces are taken from the serving dish by hand, and mixed with some of the rice, which is then picked up in the right hand. Occasionally the person eating will rinse his hand with water. When finished, each person rinses his bowl (using either water from the bowl nearby, or from the general supply -- in this case the canal). Dishes are turned upside down on the platform near the stove, to dry.

Equipment Used For Food Preparation

252 Equipment used for food preparation by 11 families par-
41 ticipating in the dietary study: clay stove; pots and covers
[251] of clay, light weight aluminum, and enameled iron; frying pans, curved, of sheet iron, with home-made wooden handle on one side, or metal handles on opposite sides (shallow clay pans were also used for frying); basins, pails, chopping boards; grater for coconut: a metal, toothed instrument mounted on one end of a low wooden stool (often called a "wooden rabbit" because the seat of the stool might be shaped like a rabbit); mortar of pottery or stone; wooden pestle; fiber strainers usually with rigid handles, to hold them in place on top of a pot; a large-bladed all-purpose knife; in some households, one or more smaller knives; metal turner, with home-made wooden handle; spoons, with bowls of coconut shell, gourd or wood; tin cans for dipping, measuring rice, etc.; fiber trays used for winnowing rice, for drying food, storing dried chilies, onions, etc.; metal tray for serving food to priests, and for household use; baskets for storing food; (5)faa-(1)chii, or fiber cover, to keep flies and insects off cooked food; large earthenware water jars.

[284] Other items less often used, and owned by relatively few families in Bang Chan, included: steamer; a perforated clay pot or metal pan with cover, designed to fit tightly into another pot in which water was boiled; large wooden mortar, made of a hollowed tree trunk; spring-type egg beater (a strong spiral spring attached to a stick); scale; glass water jars.

Equipment Used in Serving Food and Eating

264 The equipment for serving and eating food might include:
412 flat bottomed bowls with a deep edge, similar to Western-
415 style soup plates, used as individual rice bowls; plates; small bowls for "with-rice" dishes; sauce dishes with stand, for chili sauce; enameled iron or china spoons (Chinese type) used for serving moist foods; forks, used by some families on special occasions;[1] teapot and cups; large rice bowl for ceremonial use (silver or aluminum); large brass spoon with serpent-tail handle, for serving rice; drinking glasses; tiered lunch pail; canteen; thermos bottle.

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1. A relatively poor family (Sharp et al. 1953, p. 223) had one pair of fork and spoon for eating.

Examples of Notes on Food Eaten by Individuals

119
262
264 Household 16 July 23, 1953

Family members observed at meal-time: All, as they ate breakfast at various times.

Notes re kind and amount of food eaten:

Breakfast: Girl aged 12 and boy aged 7 start eating at 7:20 a.m. Each one has one dish of rice and stew of swamp cabbage and salt fish for breakfast. They are through eating at 7:40 a.m.

9:10-9:30 a.m. Father eats two dishes of rice with stew and mother does also.

10:10-10:20 a.m. Son, 18 yrs. old, returns home and eats two dishes of rice mixed with stew.

10:40-11:00 a.m. Sons aged 25 and 20 have breakfast. The older one eats two dishes of rice but the younger one eats three.

11:30 a.m. Daughter aged 22 has two dishes of rice and stew. She is through eating at 11:45 a.m.

Household 67 May 26, 1953

Family members observed at meal-time: Mother and children.

117
262 Notes re kind and amount of food eaten:

Dinner: Girl aged 7 seems to be fond of fish but dislikes vegetables. Boy aged 11 likes to eat the vegetables from the curry. Each one eats two dishes of rice mixed with small amount of hot curry (5:02-5:17 p.m.)

[855] One year old baby is fed by his older sister, eating two spoonfuls of rice mixed with boiled coconut milk. Whenever he refuses to eat, his mother nurses him.

5:40-5:55 p.m. Mother eats 3 dishes of rice with 2 dishes of hot curry, containing a small amount of fish.

Father begins eating at dark so we can't see him.

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Examples of Diet Records Submitted by School Children

Date	Breakfast	Lunch	Dinner	Snack
	Diet Record[1] of 10-year Old Girl: Diet Class I[2]			
May 19, '53	Sour curry of (2)phag (2)ka-(2)cheed Curry of swamp cabbage Boiled vegetables Fried mushrooms Roasted pilot fish Chili sauce		Cooked fish (sour) (2)phag (2)ka-(2)cheed Chili sauce	Star gooseberry Jack fruit seeds Fruit of egg tree Sweet made of flour, sugar, coconut milk Sweet made of flour, sugar, sugar palm
July 7, '53	Curry of (2)phag (2)ka-(2)cheed Boiled swamp cabbage	Boiled fish Boiled fermented fish	Boiled egg Roasted fish	(1)lam-(1)jaj (Fruit of Euphoria longana) Jack fruit seeds Sweet made of flour and sugar
Sept. 13, '53	Cooked climbing perch and other fish (sour)	Fried towel gourd with pork Fried serpenthead	Boiled climbing perch and silurus	Sweet made of flour, sugar and coconut milk Hog plum
Oct. 29, '53	Sour curry of katurai flowers with (2)phag (2)ka-(2)cheed Fried pork with swamp cabbage	Hot curry of serpenthead (2)phag (2)ka-(2)cheed Chili sauce	Sour curry of lotus stalks	Jack fruit seeds Fried banana Jambean

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Examples of Diet Records Submitted by School Children (cont.)

Date	Breakfast	Lunch	Dinner	Snack
Nov. 25, '53	Curry of lotus stalks Fried salted fish (2)phag (2)ka-(2)cheed Chili sauce	Curry of swamp cabbage Fried salted fish	Roasted salted fish Curry of (2)phag (2)ka-(2)cheed	Orange Fried banana Sweet made of flour, sugar, coconut and corn Sweet made of flour, sugar, egg and coconut
Jan. 30, '54	Sour curry of (2)phag (2)ka-(2)cheed with katurai flowers	Sour curry of green papaya	Fried sweetened fish	Jack fruit seeds Rice flour chips Sweet made of flour, sugar, coconut, corn
June 4, '54	Fried fermented fish Curry of egg plant Cooked salted pork	Fried egg Salted crabs	Curry of pineapple Curry of chicken Curry of bamboo shoots	Star gooseberry Ice Sweet made of flour, sugar and coconut milk Sweet made of flour, sugar and coconut
	Diet Record of 12-year Old Girl: Diet Class III			
Feb. 14, '53	Hot curry of fish Fried dried meat with sugar		Sour curry of swamp cabbage	Sweet made of rice, banana and coconut milk
July 7, '53	Curry of chicken		Curry of white gourd	Longan

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Examples of Diet Records Submitted by School Children (cont.)

Date	Breakfast	Lunch	Dinner	Snack
Sept. 13, '53	Curry of (3)khii-(2)leg		Curry of chicken	Fried sweet potato Star gooseberry Hog plum
Oct. -- '53	Sour curry of green papaya Fried swamp cabbage		Hot curry of fish	Guava Sweet made of dried beans and sugar
Nov. 28, '53	Fried Chinese noodles Boiled vegetables Chili sauce		Fried fish Boiled vegetables Chili sauce	Fried banana Fried Chinese noodles Sweet made of rice, banana and coconut milk
Jan. 30, '54	Beef curry		Sour curry of swamp cabbage	Chinese cake Jujube Sweet made of flour, sugar, coconut and corn Sweet made of dried beans and sugar

1. "With-rice" dishes only are listed for breakfast, lunch and dinner.

2. Adapted from Thorangkul (1957).

Food Preparation and Consumption — Sept. 25, 1953 — Household No. 21

Menu 1	Raw Ingredients: Kind 2	Wt. A.P. 3	Cost 4: Bt.	Cost 4: Stg.	Ined. Ref. 5	E.P. 6	Cooked Foods: Dish 7	Dish + Food 8	Food 9
Meal Time 4:30 a.m.							800	2990	2190
		2180-800					120	1280	1160
Cooked rice	Polished	= 1380					190	850	660
									4010T[1]
(1) Bauaun stew	(leftover)						450	915	465
(2) Sa-(5)noo stew	Coconut meat (to make milk)	700-180 = 520		50		520)			
	Dried chilies	24		15		24)			
	Onion	8		4		8)			
	Galangal (HG)[2]	8				8)			
	Garlic	4		2		4)			
	Lemongrass (HG)	12				12)			
	Bergamot rind (G)[2]	4				4)	450	1390	940
	Salt	30				30)	130	312	182
	Serpenthead (C)[2]	320-120=200				200)	130	300	170
	Shrimp paste	6		3		6)	130	260	130
	(2)Sa-(5)noo flowers (G)	550			580-520 = 60	640-150 = 490)			1422T
	Coconut milk					1220-450 = 770)			
	Palm sugar	240-200= 40		24		40)			
Cooked rice	(leftover)						520	800	280
Fried duck egg	1 Duck egg	76			21	240-185 = 55			
	Coconut oil	16		8		16			
	Onion	4		2		4			
	Fishsoy	10		5		10	180	260	80

1. T equals total weight.
2. HG, G and C stand for home grown, gathered and caught, respectively.

125 253 252 247 [illegible]

Food Preparation and Consumption (continued) Sept. 25, 1953 Household No. 21

Use of Cooked Foods						
Given away 10	Fed to Stock 11	Ed. Waste 12	Left Over 13	Eaten 14	Persons Eating 15	Method of Preparation
Cooked rice 850-190= 660 (to 3 priests)			0	3350	4	Rice, 4:30 a.m. She washes rice two times and lights the fire. Then she puts rice pot on fire at 4:35. Rice water is drained off at 5:00. Rice pot is put on fire again from 5:15 to 5:25.
			(1)Bauaun stew (leftover) 0	465		(1)Bauaun stew is reheated from 5:00 to 5:15 a.m.
(2)Sa-(5)noo stew 312-130=182 300-130=170 260-130=130 482T (to 3 priests)			0	940		(2)Sa-(5)noo stew, 5:20 a.m. Dried chilies (after soaking in water for a while), onion, garlic, galangal, lemongrass, berganot rina, and salt all pounded together. 5:25 She crushes coconut meat with water five times over colander. Shrimp paste is mixed with (4)nam (4)phrig at 5:40. The pot of coconut milk is put on fire at 5:42. (4)Nam (4)phrig is mixed with boiled coconut milk at 5:55. Fish is put into the pot and water from crushed tamarind at 6:00, (2)sa-(5)noo flowers at 6:05. The pot is put down at 6:12 a.m.
			Cooked rice (leftover) 0	280		
			Fried duck egg 0	80		Fried duck egg. The pan is put on fire at 6:15 a.m. Duck egg is mixed with pieces of onion and fishsoy. Cocomut oil is put into the pan at 6:20. Stirred egg is fried from 6:20 to 6:25.

N25
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1953
[illegible]

Food Preparation and Consumption (continued) Household No. 222, June 4-5, 1953

K. Snacks

Person eating 1	Time 2	Kind and description 3	Weight (or approx. wt.) A.P. 4	Ined. ref. 5	E.P. 6	Cost 7 Bt.	Stg.
			g.	g.	g.		
June 4/53							
Girl, 8 yrs.	12:00m	She ate a half fruit of pineapple at home. It was bought from the selling boat.	(375)	(195)	(180)		20
June 5/53							
Girl, 8 yrs.) Boy, 10 yrs.) Girl, 13 yrs.)	All day	7:40 - The pot of truffles (gathered from the fields) is put on fire. It is boiled with water and salt. Truffles: 525-72 = 453 gm. Salt: 35 gm. It is finished at 8:28.	453				
Boy, 10 yrs.	8:46	He eats boiled banana (HG)	48				
Girl, 13 yrs.	Early a.m.	She drinks coffee which is bought from the store near the Wat.					40
Father	10:13	He drinks one glass of milk which is bought from the store near Wat.					50

2: Hauck et al. D.E-5 (1952-1954) 1958 AO7 Central Thai AO7 Bang Chan

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[126]

2: Hauck et al. D.E-5 (1952-1954) 1958 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

Form for Calculating Raw Weights of Foods Eaten

Dietary Survey, Bang Chan — Household No. 12 — Date Jan. 14, 1954

Amounts of foods prepared and eaten — No. persons in household 3

Meal - menu	Raw ingredients				Cooked food	Use of cooked foods					Adjustments-raw wt.		
1	2[1]	3	5	6	9	10	11	12	13	14	For amt. eaten	15	For No. people
4:00 p.m.													
Cooked rice	Polished	610			1640				500	1140		3	
Baked egg plants	3 egg plants	370		370	240				0	240			
Fish "salad"	Lemongrass (HG)[2]	36		36)									
	Holy basil (HG)	44	20	24)	115				0	115			
	1 fish (cooked)	52	12	40)									
	Lime (1/2 fruit)	30	12	18)									
Cooked rice	(Leftover)				250				0	250			
6:55 a.m.													
Cooked rice	Polished	950			2390				800	1590		3	
Roasted fish	2 fish	112			96				0	96			
Cooked rice	(Leftover)				500				0	500			
Chili sauce	Bird pepper (HG)	12		12)									
	Shrimp paste	10		10)									
	Garlic	8		8)	45				20	25			
	Palm sugar	10		10)									
	Lime	12	4	8)									

1. For identification of column numbers, see the original schedule, pp. 118-119 and pp. 113-114 121
2. HG stands for home grown.

*177 22
*178
207 Exposure to the media of mass communication seems to act, in
212 a sense, as a substitute for literacy. It may be that through
546 these means either an illiterate farmer can obtain information about the more complex agricultural tools and methods or motivation to try improvements, or both, even though he may not know how to read and write. One may infer that he tends to act on the information thus obtained, since he is more likely than his unexposed opposite number to try out these innovations.

*178
*177 Acceptance of Urban Patterns

369 The printed word and the mass media are, of course, not solely channels for the communication of knowledge. They are, at the same time a means whereby the farmers may establish some sort of contact with the more sophisticated world outside the community even with highly urban Bangkok.

[291] The survey indicates in a general way the extent to which
[416] the people of Bang Chan have accepted urban patterns. Their grow-
[207] ing acceptance of urban modes is readily apparent even to a casual
[493] visitor: many own shoes, flashlights, wrist watches, radios,
[413] bicycles, fountain pens, modern furniture.* Other urban behavior
[358] is likewise beginning to be noticeable.

One very simple indication of the degree to which urban influences have penetrated is the change in manners of taking food. The farmers traditionally eat with their hands rather than using a fork or spoon. In Bangkok, however, eating utensils are customarily served with the meals in restaurants and are widely
*197 adopted as well by the city population. Some Bang Chan inhabi-
*178 tants have picked up this simple urban custom and have substituted it for eating mainly with their hands. In Bang Chan of 1955, for
• 264 example, a sizeable minority (26 per cent) report that they use a spoon, fork or both for the evening meal.

369 That such a simple question can roughly measure exposure
[207] to urban influences, is indicated in the following table, which
[546] shows that respondents who report customarily eating with "urban utensils" are more likely to be exposed frequently to radio and motion pictures and are more likely to have visited in Bangkok.

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[412] * Survey respondents report that their households possess a flashlight (81 per cent); scissors (66 per cent); kerosene lamp (27 per cent); radio (14 per cent). About 41 per cent say they own at least one pair of shoes.

23

TABLE 16. INHABITANTS WHO HAVE ADOPTED URBAN EATING PATTERNS ARE MORE LIKELY THAN OTHERS TO BE EXPOSED TO MASS COMMUNICATIONS AND URBAN CONTACTS

	Eating Pattern	
	With hands (342)	With fork and/or spoon (84)
Listens to radio		
Regularly (daily)	10%	23%
Occasionally	17	28
Seldom	31	35
Never	22	10
Has seen a movie		
Ten times or more	40%	72%
4 - 9 times	19	17
1 - 3 times	28	10
Never	13	1
This past year, how many times did you go to Bangkok?		
None	26%	7%
Once	18	13
2 - 4 times	29	23
5 or more times	28	55

When acceptance of urban influences is measured even on the basis of this index, the evidence is clear that it is linked with acceptance of the agricultural innovations. Those responsive to urban influence are twice as likely as others to use fertiliser (21 per cent versus 9 per cent), one and a half times as likely to grow mushrooms (57 per cent versus 39 per cent), and one and a quarter times as likely to use a motor than the others (82 per cent versus 61 per cent). There is no noticeable relationship, however, between tilapia raising and responsiveness to urban influences. The respective proportions are shown in Table 17.

These relationships between acceptance of urban patterns and decision to use certain innovations remain constant for those on high as well as low economic levels and also for the literate as well as illiterate farmers.

*178
369
241
244
402
• 264

TABLE 17. VILLAGERS RESPONSIVE TO URBAN PATTERNS ARE MORE LIKELY THAN OTHERS TO USE AGRICULTURAL INNOVATIONS

Agricultural innovations	Eat with fork and/or spoon	Eat with hands
Artificial fertilizer		
Tried it	21%	9%
Never did	79	91
Total cases*	(69)	(218)
Mushrooms		
Tried growing	57%	39%
Never did	43	61
Total cases	(84)	(242)
Small engine motor		
Own one or have used it	82%	61%
Never did	18	39
Total cases	(84)	(242)

* For farmers only; excludes all non-farmers

*178
369
212
244
402
434
264
556

TABLE 18. ACCEPTANCE OF URBAN PATTERNS IS LINKED TO ACCEPTANCE OF MOTOR AND MUSHROOM GROWING, IRRESPECTIVE OF ECONOMIC AND LITERACY LEVELS

	Economic Level				Literacy Level			
	Low		High		Illiterate		Literate	
Acceptance of urban patterns	(Proportion who used motor)							
Eat with hands	55%	(77)	76%	(73)	47%	(73)	83%	(76)
Fork or spoon	75	(20)	89	(34)	69%	(16)	90	(38)
	(Proportion who tried mushroom growing)							
Eat with hands	28%	(77)	58%	(73)	38%	(73)	47%	(76)
Fork or spoon	45	(20)	65	(34)	44	(16)	66	(40)
	(Proportion who used fertilizer)							
Eat with hands	11%	(77)	13%	(73)	10%	(73)	14%	(76)
Fork or spoon	19	(20)	26	(34)	3	(16)	23	(40)

32. Last night, when you ate at your own house, did you eat with your hands, with fork and spoon, or with spoon alone? [125] [264]

9.	Hands	242
X.	Fork and Spoon	11
Y.	Spoon alone	73
0.	Unascertainable	7

33.a. Have you ever been to a clinic or a hospital? [743]

1.	Yes	324
2.	No	119

b. IF YES: In what various places?

3.	Minburi	156
4.	Bangkok	135
5.	Other place	7
6.	Unascertainable what place.	

c. IF R HAS BEEN TO CLINIC OR HOSPITAL: For what various purposes did you go?

7.	Treatment or hospitalisation	123
8.	To bring a patient there	77
9.	Visit relatives or friends	45
X.	Other reason, specify_____	11
0.	Unascertainable	—

34.a. During the last year, did it occur to you frequently, sometimes, or never that you had difficulties falling asleep? [513]

1.	Frequently	73
2.	Occasionally	151
3.	Never	109

b. During the last year, did it occur to you frequently, sometimes, or never that you had a headache? [164]

4.	Frequently	50
5.	Occasionally	174
6.	Never	109

c. During the last year, did it occur to you frequently, sometimes, seldom or never that you lost your appetite?

7.	Frequently	50
8.	Occasionally	173
9.	Never	110

d. During the last year, did it occur to you frequently, sometimes, or never that your hands trembled so as to bother you? [164]

X.	Frequently	17
Y.	Occasionally	93
0.	Never	218
—	No Answer	5

e. During the last year, did it occur to you frequently, sometimes, or never that your heart beat so fast as to bother you?

1.	Frequently	36
2.	Occasionally	154
3.	Never	141
—	No Answer	2

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

The Family

592 Although the family is the smallest of social institutions, it occupies first rank in importance. For the purpose of this study family is defined as a group of persons who form a household under one head including parents, children, servants and other dependents. It is a social unit for both consumption and production. In Bangchan, members [264] [464] [463] of the same family, with the possible exception of piece-workers who have the privilege of eating with their employers only during periods of certain kinds of work, usually share the same meal although not necessarily at the same time. Physically able members are expected to contribute to family work although some may also do extra jobs for their own pocket money. In all cases family work has priority over the extra job, and in most cases members turn over all or part of the [354] [184] earning thus realized to the family head. Although most families have separate dwellings, there are instances of two families sharing the same dwelling but having separate cooking arrangement. Such cases are rare, however. According [464] [463] to our operational definition, then, a member of a biological family who has hired himself out as regularly hired laborer ceases to be a member of his own biological family and becomes a member of his employer's family. Piece workers, on the other hand, although they may occasionally eat with their employers, still retain membership of their biological family if they still live with them. Finally, people who live in the same dwelling may not belong to the same family if they

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

511 expenses (Table 53) and the Thai concept of food taking is somewhat different from the Western concept, an explanation of the food habit of Bangchan residents, which in no way differs from that of Thai farmers elsewhere in the country, is perhaps necessary at this juncture.

262 By far the most important single dietary item of
264 the Thai is khao or rice, which is the basis for every meal. The general term for "eat" is kin khao which has the literal meaning "to eat rice". Other dietary items are considered as embellishments and are thus called kab-khao (lit., with-rice). Typically, the "with-rice" items contain high seasoning in the form of chili and various hot curries. It is inconceivable for a Thai to eat "with-rice" alone without any rice, for not only the "real food" would then be missing but also there would be nothing to neutralize the highly flavored taste of the "with-rice". Actually, "with-rice" and rice are fed to the mouth in one lump with spoon or hand as the case may be. Eating "with-rice" alone would be just like eating butter without any bread. Moreover, "with-rice" are relatively more expensive than rice. Since the general idea is that they serve only to induce the in-take of rice, for sheer economic reason they should be consumed as little as possible so long as the required amount of rice in-take can be maintained. Accordingly, proper proportion of "with-rice" to rice in each helping has become one of the strictly observed table manners. This is easily noticeable, for only rice is served individually when the

262 family sit at the table while "with-rice" are placed at
• 264 the center and each person must partake of a small bit of these, just enough to properly go with a spoonful of rice taken each time. This table-etiquette is generally observed throughout the country by all classes of people. A story had it that a Thai student of an aristocrat family wrote home objecting to the proposed marriage between his sister and one of his Thai friends in America. One count against the man was that he had been observed to have taken too much "with-rice" while dining out at a Chinese restaurant in New York!

511 Among the factors affecting variability of the rate
182 of consumption of various items of goods, the following may be mentioned:

261 a. Relative price of the food in relation to its
511 ability to mollify hunger when taken with rice. When Bangchan
182 farmers were questioned why they did not consume eggs produced at home but instead sold them and bought the inferior platoo fish (Rastrelliger chrysozonus), the answer was that an egg barely induced them to take a plate of rice whereas one platoo fish bought with half the money obtained from the sale of an egg could induce them to take three or four plates of rice and thus satisfying a hearty meal.

511 b. Homogeneity of quantitative need for certain
182 products like rice, fish, clothing, tobacco, and garlic. Consumption per consuming unit of these goods has been observed to be more or less constant regardless of the prices and the family's purchasing power.